

DECLARATION OF DANIEL HOLLER

I, Daniel Holler, pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 1746, hereby declare as follows:

1. I am over 18 years of age, of sound mind, and otherwise competent to make this declaration. This declaration is based on my personal knowledge and information provided to me in my official capacity by others.
2. I am currently serving as the Deputy Chief of Staff to the Secretary of State. I have served as a policymaker at the Department of State since shortly after President Trump's inauguration in January 2025. Previously, I served as a Deputy Chief of Staff in the United States Senate and as a founding member of a leading advocacy and public policy research institute.
3. I am aware that the instant lawsuit has been filed on behalf of the named plaintiffs against President Donald J. Trump and several federal agencies alleging that proposed administrative actions were harmful to their members. I provide this declaration based on my personal knowledge and experience, reasonable inquiry, and information obtained from other State Department employees.
4. On January 20, 2025, the U.S. Senate confirmed Marco Rubio as the Secretary of State. Since the first days of our republic, federal laws and other authorities have vested the Secretary of State with considerable discretion and responsibility to direct the conduct of foreign affairs and to manage diplomatic resources. *See e.g.*, An Act for establishing an Executive Department, to be denominated the Department of Foreign Affairs, 1 Stat. 28 (July 27, 1789); 22 USC 2651a(a)(1) ("The Department of State shall be administered, in accordance with this Act and other provisions of law, under the supervision and direction of the Secretary of State ..."); ; *id.* 2651a(a)(3)(A) ("The Secretary shall administer,

coordinate, and direct the Foreign Service of the United States and the personnel of the Department of State, except where authority is inherent in or vested in the President”).

5. From his first days on the job, Secretary Rubio has been committed to reforming the Department’s operations and footprint to better reflect the Administration’s diplomatic priorities and the needs of modern diplomacy. As Secretary Rubio has repeatedly stated in public appearances, including in remarks to employees on January 21, 2025 when he said “[t]here will be changes ... because we need to be a 21st century agency”, the significant growth in the Department’s domestic operations has led to excessive bureaucratic overgrowth, conflicting and incoherent organizational mandates, and ultimately undermined the Department’s ability to quickly, efficiently, and effectively meet the demands of contemporary diplomacy.
6. At the time of Secretary Rubio’s confirmation, the Department had more than 700 domestic offices and approximately 81,000 employees (~19,000 domestic), representing an ~25% growth since 2010. Due to significant employee growth and roughly flat appropriations for operating expenses, the Department has perennially run a payroll deficit in recent years. At the time of Secretary Rubio’s confirmation, the Department was on track for a roughly ~\$250 million payroll deficit for Fiscal Year 2025.
7. To address these concerns, on or about January 26, 2025, Secretary Rubio charged a group of his closest policy advisors, and a special team of two career Foreign Service Officers, to develop a plan to reorganize the Department to be more streamlined and to advance the Administration’s core America First diplomatic priorities. The reorganization planning exercise was undertaken solely at the direction and discretion of Secretary Rubio.

8. The Secretary's reorganization advisors began by reviewing the Department's organizational charts and office list, producing proposals for the movement of offices and realignment of bureaus to enhance cohesion, responsiveness, and effectiveness. The group also began developing proposals to eliminate certain offices and functions which were redundant or otherwise inconsistent with the Administration's foreign policy priorities. In connection with the proposed elimination of certain offices and functions, the group identified potential Reduction-In-Force ("RIF") actions to shrink the Department's domestic workforce to more sustainable levels.
9. On January 30, 2025, President Trump designated Secretary Rubio as Acting Administrator of USAID. In the next few days, the Secretary and Acting Administrator took several actions to refocus USAID's foreign assistance programs and operations towards the foreign policy interests of the United States. Those actions reprioritized core operations that centered on the Agency's appropriate focus on life-saving and strategic aid mission. For example, USAID conducted an individualized full-scope review of all its existing foreign assistance awards and took action to terminate certain awards which Secretary Rubio determined were not consistent with the foreign policy and national interests of the United States. Likewise, the Secretary authorized certain personnel actions, including the placement of certain USAID personnel on paid administrative leave.
10. On February 3, 2025, Secretary Rubio sent a letter to Congress, informing them, consistent with applicable law, including sections 7063 and 7015 of the Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2024 (Div. F, P.L. 118-47), as carried forward by the Continuing Appropriations Act, 2025 (Div. A, P.L.

118-83), of “our intent to initiate consultations ... regarding the manner in which foreign aid is distributed around the world through [USAID],” including by exploring a potential reorganization of USAID and/or its potential absorption by the Department of State. *See* February 3, 2025, Letter to the Chairs and Ranking Members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations.

11. By the time of this February 3, 2025 letter, the reorganization group’s planning work for the State Department was well underway, with draft new organizational charts, RIF plans, and office realignment plans being actively developed. Although a separate exercise, the potential realignment of USAID began to feature significantly into the group’s reorganization planning. For example, the Secretary’s reorganization advisors began to identify State offices and bureaus to assume certain former USAID foreign assistance programs, to evaluate the Department’s existing staffing patterns and capacities to administer an expanded set of foreign assistance programming, and to propose reforms and realignments of existing State Department functions to support new foreign assistance functions.
12. On February 11, President Trump issued Executive Order 14210, implementing the President’s Workforce Optimization Initiative and, as relevant, directing federal agencies and instrumentalities to explore plans for large-scale RIFs and explore reorganizations. *See* EO 14210 Sec. 3(c), (e). As the Department’s independent reorganization effort was already ongoing, the Secretary determined that no new planning exercise was necessary or appropriate in order to respond to these provisions within EO 14210.

13. Given the sensitivity of the Department's reorganization planning, Secretary Rubio's previous determination, and ongoing litigation surrounding the realignment of USAID, the Department's ARRP submissions did not include any specific elements of the ongoing reorganization planning with these intergovernmental parties. Rather, the Department's submissions reflected only summary information about certain Department goals. No specific reorganization plans, RIF competitive areas, or other associated details were provided in the Department's submissions, even though generally required as part of the ARRP process.
14. On March 28, 2025, the Department of State and USAID notified Congress of their intent to undertake a reorganization that would realign certain USAID functions to the Department of State by July 1, 2025, and discontinue other residual USAID functions inconsistent with Administration priorities. As discussed in the notification, it is anticipated that, by July 1, 2025, the Department will assume responsibility for the administration of ongoing USAID programming¹ and that, by September 2, 2025, USAID's operations can be substantially transferred to State or otherwise wound down. Accordingly, within the current fiscal year, the Department intends to propose legislation to authorize abolishing USAID as an independent establishment and to request future appropriations for the relevant programming be provided directly to the Department.

¹ In this first phase, the Department intends to take on the management of USAID's financial and administrative systems and management of USAID's remaining operations and ongoing foreign assistance programs via interagency agreement, in order to ensure that USAID programs can be safely and effectively administered by the Department during the transition period. For example, payment processing systems would be integrated into the Department to ensure a streamlined approach to managing life-saving humanitarian aid and national security programs, and the State Department would integrate USAID's partner vetting systems.

15. As part of the reorganization and transfer of functions process, substantially all non-statutory positions at USAID will be eliminated. Consistent with applicable laws and regulations, beginning on March 28, 2025, USAID personnel globally, across the civil and foreign services, were notified of a consolidated agency-wide RIF action. Mirroring the transfer of functions and draw down plan, Agency personnel received RIF notices specifying one of two final separation dates: either July 1, 2025, or September 2, 2025.
16. On April 16, 2025, the Secretary announced the intended closure of the State Department's Counter Foreign Information Manipulation and Interference (R/FIMI), formerly known as the Global Engagement Center (GEC). In connection with this intended closure, the Department issued RIF notices to approximately 50 employees. As outlined in several public statements and media appearances, the intended closure of FIMI was unrelated to the broader reorganization and entirely distinct from any broader workforce reduction goals. Rather, the Secretary announced plans to close this office as part of his efforts to preserve and protect the freedom for Americans to exercise their free speech, addressing concerns that this office had "actively silence[d] and censor[ed] the voices of Americans they were supposed to be serving ... antithetical to the very principles we should be upholding" as government officials committed to championing the constitutional principles of free speech and expression.²
17. On April 22, 2025, the Department unveiled a reorganization roadmap and initiated Congressional consultations on the most significant State Department reorganization since the Cold War. These plans reflected the work and proposals that the Secretary's

² Although RIF notices were issued on April 16, 2025, which indicated a final separation date in May 2025, no employees have yet been separated from federal service in connection with the planned closure of R/FIMI. The delay in effectuating this RIF is due to consultations with the Congress regarding this action. The State Department will not issue final separation notices until after June 14, 2025.

advisors had been working on since January—well before the Workforce Optimization EO. The Department’s internal and external communications included a draft Department-wide organizational chart and statistics on the planned elimination of 132 of 734 domestic offices. As outlined in those communications, in connection with the planned reorganization, the Secretary tasked the Department’s six Under Secretaries (or Senior Officials in those Under Secretariats) to develop detailed implementation plans for the bureaus and offices reporting to them. As part of these plans, due May 19, 2025, the Secretary directed Under Secretaries to identify proposals to reduce their domestic headcount by a target of 15 percent.

18. The Department’s communications made clear that the reorganization was directed by Secretary Rubio and intended to address foreign policy needs—not to respond to any EO or government-wide guidance. For example, the Department’s detailed “State Department Reorganization Fact Sheet” described the planned reorganization as addressing the need to “realign U.S. foreign-policy tools.” These same points were reiterated at that day’s press briefing and an opinion piece published by the Secretary. The Fact Sheet only referenced the Workforce Optimization EO once, indirectly stating that the planned reorganization’s headcount reductions were “consistent with the President’s Workforce Optimization Initiative.” The careful wording of this reference makes clear that while the headcount reductions overlapped with the general goals of the Workforce Optimization EO, they were not directed by it. This wording made clear that the planned reorganization was not an implementation of, but was merely complementary of, the broader Administration’s efficiency goals.

19. To facilitate the Under Secretary implementation planning, the Secretary convened a reorganization working group organized by the Office of the Deputy Secretary for Management and Resources (D-MR). This working group, which met more than twenty times between April 22, 2025, and May 19, 2025, was staffed exclusively by State Department senior staff and officials.
20. The working group did not share any detailed or substantive information with OMB, OPM, or DOGE or otherwise coordinate reorganization planning with any intergovernmental entities or officials beyond the State Department. Throughout the process the working group neither sought nor received guidance, templates, or clearance from OMB, OPM, or DOGE. Our concept papers, draft bureau charters, and cost estimates all circulated solely on the Department's networks.
21. From April 22, 2025, to May 19, 2025, the Department undertook consultations with Congress as required by applicable law and opened an online comment portal through which employees could provide comments and suggestions. The working group also sought input from bureau/office leadership and other State Department employees. The working group did not share this feedback with OMB, OPM, or DOGE.
22. On May 19, 2025, the Under Secretaries submitted detailed implementation plans. These plans were reviewed and revised by D-MR staff and the Secretary's senior advisors. On May 28, 2029, Secretary Rubio formally approved of the revised plans.
23. On May 29, 2025, the Department transmitted a 136-page notification to Congress ("CN") outlining the reorganization plans approved by the Secretary, as required by section 7015 of the Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2024 (Div. F, P.L. 118-47), as carried forward by the Full-Year

Continuing Appropriations Act, 2025 (Div. A, P.L. 119-4), and section 34 of the State Department Basic Authorities Act of 1956.. The CN included extensive existing and proposed new organizational charts for the Department's domestic bureaus and offices, an office-by-office disposition list and other pertinent information. In sum, the proposed reorganization outlined in the CN would merge, eliminate, transfer, or realign 311 (or approximately 45%) of the Department's domestic offices. In addition, the proposed reorganization would reduce domestic headcount by up to 18 percent, between 8 percent participation in the Department's two voluntary Deferred Resignation Programs (DRP) and a RIF of approximately ten percent of domestic civil and foreign service personnel.

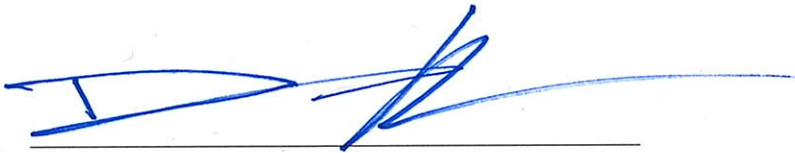
24. Since the CN was transmitted, the Department continues to consult with Congress on its proposed reorganization plans. Department Officials have attended staff-level briefings with four relevant House and Senate committees. These consultations have involved solely Department personnel, and have not involved or been coordinated with OPM, OMB, or DOGE.

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25. The Department is not taking and will not take any implementation steps, including by implementing RIF actions, [and will not send RIF notices to employees] until the Congressional notification period has elapsed, fifteen days after the submission of the May 29, 2025, CN. Apart from the small office closure described in paragraph 18, no other RIF notices or separation actions have been issued in connection with the State Department reorganization.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Executed on June 9, 2025, at Washington, D.C.



Daniel Holler